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2. On my own part:

In my dealings with the Isneg I use the Main branch of the O dialect, while in writing I use the K branch for reasons given before.[6] So it may have happened that, in writing down texts, my own ordinary use of M has influenced me to write down a given word as I myself would have pronounced it, or my use of K in writing has caused me to put down K's where they were absent in the informant's pronunciation.

Nevertheless I have always tried to write down texts as faithfully as possible, and now I start publishing them as I have them, without trying to correct anything, even though an occasional guttural that appears in a given term does not belong to the correct language of a given informant.

The above warning is given here once for all, and it refers to all Isneg texts that I shall publish in the future.

TEXT I

This text is a continuous dialogue between a boy and the girl he goes to court for the first time. My informant is Baydan from Tawit (M), and he calls it *maibabbáy*, "courting the girls".

1. *Laláï: iápugnā- man ikáw*[7] *ta adú kanó ya mamámmo a nánda.*
   Babáy: áwan pañalakkánta ka mamá ña ñáxan balái.[8]
2. *L.: námmo áy pagdamadámagda ña nagsintíñde ka mamá.*
   B.: díta maxuñgám no mapoonó ñam áy.
3. *L.: mañuwáa pagká- kiyá atán kammalañín simpapadán.*
   B.: turáñka mañuwá ka ibatáymo ka asitólāymo.
4. *L.: díka mañaluníb kiyá ittó ya nánko.*
   B.: xapó walá xané ta ummánta kiddí ya agdalidálīnta ña dadúma.

[6] Op. cit., 14.

[7] *ikáw*, sometimes pronounced *kow*, which literally means "you", and which I render by 'you', is a little term which is very hard to translate. The Isneg use it all the time, and always in the form *ikáw*, although when it stands for the personal pronoun, those who use the Main branch pronounce *ídw*. Here thus it stands for something like "come on now", "what is the matter", but it changes its shade of meaning with every context.

[8] *balái* is a term used with affectation; the real ordinary word is *babáy*; *balái* is made to look similar to *laláï*, "man".

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5. *L.: bakkán luxúd dalá ńam ăy námmo ăy nawadá kammalańin.* 539
B.: ăy úrăy no matańabúlan magmandármo no bakkánnă- patiyán.

6. *L.: ăy dia atán mańuwá no sissá ńa alyáw ka pańibailaxubuwámmo ka asitólăymo.*
B.: ăy úrăy no siuanámmo walá no mabăyăy no pagbusidántaa.

7. *L.: ăy no patiyánta iyán séno paka-maánta ka apardisiyónánta ńa dadúma.*
B.: ăy úrăy yalá iyá- maxikáro no atán apardisiyónămmo.

8. *L. (magkag-axí): díta bumananndy* [9]
pĕ yô [10] *lu-sáw di babbáy*
ô do ăy ày,
ăy bakkán mabalin no maianăyonta ka puńán kadaăyó.
B.: taán na turámmo apaka-múd ya mapooná kiyán manín, turánnă- ummán apakassińán.

9. *L.: nă ńa apakassińán ya pampanúnutmo.*
B.: ammóm síńkabainta ńa dadúma ton.

10. *L.: atán ummán kada-tá no ipasilládawta ki pandá daldalĕnăn pĕ ya pańipalawaxánta kiyá lamlamtán,*
dimo pagkaaxiyán ka rasáwta ńa dadúma no ibbaxáta ya kăyátto kadaăyó.
B.: nómmo ukáw appĕlańin nam ăy no iyá- bakkán kapĕlańin, ummat dăyá abbulón no mapoonáda.

11. *L. (ag-axí): ríxas agká- di babbáy*
pĕ yo sublá-da ńid baggi ni dumnáy,
isáń rándă- adí taglamán
ki inapplaxán ńa dapán.
B.: ăy ummán múńaw ya datúlańko iyá agtúlitúlim.

12. *L.: mapooná kiyán ta iyá- ya umáń mańidóon kiyá pampanunútańko,*
iyá- ya ummán kiyá mamalídt kinurăy sadasaă-pan ned baggi-,
to ya ummán kiyán ya isugńálmo ya balbalidtko iyáw.
B.: bakkán luxúd dalá ńam ăy ya atán ummán kada-tá no uruxánta ya turénu pańovaonán.

[9] A magic term to obtain a girl's love.

[10] yô instead of ya. The change of a into ô is of very frequent occurrence in songs. 192

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13. *L.: dálinko no atán allá-mo ka asitólăymo ńa magkaxumán ńa makipakaási kadaăyó.*
B.: as mo rā magkallá- ka bakkán matáy.

14. *L.: námmo iyá matáy ya tańar-uwásan ya agdamdámta.*
B.: ô a ńam ăy ráńka ma- manaróxas ka pańpańuwáko.

15. *L.: ăy ummán kiyá pańpańsáw ya aramídanta iyá ańuwámo.*
B.: iinna ya maxallán no matúdogka kiyá datág.

16. *L.: ăy ummán ta datág ya záatko iddí.*
B.: ya ulátko ya paxulátmo.

17. *L.: díyā- alá kaw no mapooná kiyán,*
maxuláttā- iddé ta nalmínnā-.
B.: maxulátka no magsibnáta ka paxiddaán.

18. *L.: iinna ya namalbúya kiddí no díta naxalád kitó nōnná a biyág.*
B.: ta urâymo tuńpálannin no isá ńa algáw no kurúg ya lamlamtám.

19. *L.: ô mindaggánta ma- iyán ńam ăy matáytańin.*
B.: úrăy man ta turán ummán madu-liyáwăn ya patudóxānta kiyá ańuwámo.

20. *L.: wăyyá mańkammín ta xańáyta ńa tólăy ńid mapooná.*
B.: ăy ummánā- luxúd maxińbáw ka átat amúyaw kadaăyó no kurúg ya panúnutmo.

21. *L.: ăy wăyyáta ńalá magkōnaoná kiddí no pańōg-ógta ka asitólăyta.*
B.: ăy maańgámta no mapooná.

22. *L.: ăy sinnámmo ńalá ya náńko.*
B. xará sinnáńko man no kurúg ya lammalammátmo kiyá-.

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TRANSLATION

1. Man (boy): Prepare betel for me, please, 'you', as they say that it is said that you have much betel (for chewing).
Woman (girl): We, who are called "girl", have nowhere to get betel (for chewing) from.

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2. M.: So you say, but they [11] proclaim that they [12] store up betel (for chewing). 539 584
W.: But would we not be happy if it were so.

3. M.: You act perhaps on account of the existence of one who is waiting [13] though.
W.: Why do you act making something step on your companion.[14]

4. M.: Do not contradict (lying) what I say.
W.: Only because, is it not, we are like this, we others are just walking along.[15]

5. M.: Not at all though, but what you say is clear though.[16]
W.: Ah, even though you watch me during a month, if you do not believe me.

6. M.: Ah, do not pose an act so as one day to have deceived your companion.[17]
W.: Ah, even though you see after a long time if I have lied to you.

7. M.: Ah, if we believe that, we others may meet to our loss.[18]
W.: Ah, even though I expiate it if you suffer that loss.

8. M. (sings): Let us not approach
The anger of the woman
O do ay ay.
Is it not allowed to lie on the same pillow with you.
W.: Why do you happen to do like that again.
Why is it as if you saw me for the first time.

9. M.: Why is your idea about seeing you for the first time.
W.: We others are ashamed about that, you know.

[11] Other people.
[12] The girls.
[13] Another lover.
[14] Why do you suspect this of me, to whom you are talking.
[15] You dare say so because I am a plain ordinary girl, is it not?
[16] There is another lover.
[17] Me, to whom you are talking.
[18] If, one day, both lovers meet, one may kill the other.

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10. M.: It is like with us, if we throw around on any kind of road the explanation of what we meditate upon.[19]
Do not call it greed on our part if we tell you what we like from you.
W.: You say that though, but, as to myself, I do not though.
The companions sing when they are like that.

11. M. (singing): Women are difficult,
They push away the body of the one who draws near.
My little girl, why do you not share with me
The mat that has been spread out.
W.: The place where my ladder rests on the ground seems to be worn out through your frequent coming back.

12. M.: It looks like that as I am the one who comes to manifest what I think.
I am like the one who pronounces the thought of the constant feeling of this my body.
That is like that to have you answer what I pronounce to you.
W.: Not so indeed, but is it like us to believe the things without value that you put forth.[20]

13. M.: I thought that you would pity your companion[21] who tries his best to sue for your mercy.
W.: Ha, how can one pity one who is not dead.

14. M.: You say that it is to the dead that we offer transiently our thoughts.
W.: Yes indeed, but why though do you cheat me in my acts.

15. M.: Is it like joking what we do to your acts.
W.: Who will scold you if you sleep on the floor.[22]

16. M.: Is it like the floor being my purpose here.
W.: Let my blanket be what you use for your blanket.

[19] We also are ashamed to talk about love along the street, that is the reason why I come here to your house.

[20] *paíonaondn*, literally: to cause to be first all the time.

[21] Me.

[22] Away from my mat.

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17. M.: I do not want though, 'you', if it is like that.
I shall cover myself with a blanket here as I feel cold.
W.: Cover yourself with a blanket if we lie down separately.

18. M.: Who shows these things, if we did not use for a pattern those that lived first.[23]
W.: Your thought will be fulfilled one day, if what you meditate upon is true.

19. M.: Yes, we have to wait for that, but we die now already.
W.: Even so, why is it as if our sleeping place be bright for your act.[24]

20. M.: How can we complete our human customs like that.[25]
W.: Ah, thus I am like feeling to be the fruit of an amuyaw-tree left on the tree after the harvest, if your idea is true.

21. M.: How can we put forth this, if we do it to fool our companion.[26]
W.: Ah, we are happy if it is so.

22. M.: Ah, look only at what I say.
W.: All right, let me see if your idea regarding me is true.

The girl allows the boy to lie down on her mat, which is her first concession and proves to the boy that his suit is not rejected. My informant emphatically stated that nothing untoward would happen after this first concession.

Although this text is essentially Isneg, we find the following foreign terms:

Two Spanish terms with an Isneg jacket:

In (5), *mandar*, "to order", in the sense of watching.
In (7), *perdición*, "loss".

One Ibanag term:

In (11), *dapán*, instead of *abá-*, for "mat".

[23] We do only what our parents did before us.

[24] Is my mat the only place where you can lie down?

[25] Yes, but is that the way of human nature, for man and woman to sleep on a different mat?

[26] Can you imagine that I would fool you?

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192 Three Iloko terms, almost in juxtaposition with their corresponding Isneg terms:

In (12) and passim: *panúnut*, "thought", Isneg *damdám* (in 14).

In (13), *kaási*, "pity", "mercy", Isneg *allá-*.

In (15), *arámid*, "doing", "acting", Isneg *uwá*.

TEXT II

[584 115] This text, like the preceding, consists in a continuous dialogue between a boy and the girl he goes to court for the first time. My informant is Umila from Abbil (A), and he calls it *mamabáy*, "to court a girl".

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1. *L.: magápugka man ikáw.*
   B.: áwán abbulón.
2. *L.: daddán turá áwán no iyá- ya maiápug ta.*
   B.: wáyyó ñalá iddánta ya áwán.
3. *L.: ta daddán turúñka mapáwanán ta.*
   B.: úráy nad atán abbulón áy piyánnu pé nad.
4. *L.: bakkánnu a abbulón piyán no daáyó.*
   B.: magiyámánta a no ummán kiyán.
5. *L.: áy simpre bakkánnu id kammalañín piyán ya mañiápug.*
   B.: ó walá no andaáyó.
6. *L.: se pé lugúd ta bakkámmo piyán mañílnáb ki mamám.*
   B.: ammóta ma- no piyánnu ya dagapágap ña gawád.
7. *L.: bakkámmo a piyán babáy no iáw.*
   B.: ó námmo walá a kiyán ikáw kiyá ummán pé idí.
8. *L.: agkúd kammalañín lu-sáwañko úráy dagapágap ña gawád.*
   B.: no áwánmo lu-sáwan bakkáñka lugúd magbabáwi ta iápugtaka.
9. *L.: áy paannánta lugúd abbulón.*
   B.: mapaannád totó walá ya urámo ikáw ki ummá iddí.
10. *L.: sigún ki panúnutko a ikáw ya atán ki ólo-.*
    B.: no sigún ki panúnutmo ikáw áy bakkáñka lugúd nagdamdám ki sabáli.
11. *L.: nágan ma- kam pagtuñpálañko no di ittó widí.*
    B.: babáyyá- ikáw ña áwán serbí.

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12. *L.: turâ mepabobóñ ya urâymo ki ummán iddí.*
B.: paiyán na urâyko mepabobóñ ta.

13. *L.: iyán nalá añuwámo a ikáw.*
B.: abây gané ya básolko ki ummán kîdí ña arámid.

14. *L.: ô walá abbulón kané iyâ- ya atán kîdí.*
B.: ây bakkán lugúd a ñam ây náñko ampêlañín.

15. *L.: iápugnâ- ma- totáwin íkáw a.*
B.: ammóta nad abbulón no magñáñây ya ymmán kiddí a pampanúnutmo.

16. *L.: bakkán nad magnâyon a no âaâyó abbulón.*
B.: bakkán lugúd a ñam ây turâ pê yalá nepagásat iáw ya atán îdí.

17. *L.: kurúg kammalañín ya pampanúnutko ki mepapán kiáw.*
B.: no ummán kiyán abbulón turânnu kammalañín ilaw-át ya urâyta a dadúma.

18. *L.: kâyâtko ammalá ñamminnin abbulón úrây ñanná ya añôg-óg da abbulón kiyâ- gapó kiáw.*
B.: nânnu walá abbulón kid atânka ñalá kîdí.

19. *L.: ây bakkán lugúd a abbulón ñam ây díta pê mabaín kiyá ummán kiyán ña ag-agiyánnu.*
B.: ây pandá ñalá a ya añuwámo kiyá ummán kîdí ña uuwaán ta.

20. *L.: ây nágan ma- kam- nâyá pagtuñpâlâñko no di ya ummán kîdí.*
B.: pandá ñalá ya añuwánuwin abbulón ta iparúbâ- lugúd ya pinañkaâyâtko kiáw ñam ây bakkáñka magbabáwi lugúd no adaddú ña algáw ya mapalpalábasta ka pandá iddí ña gabí.

TRANSLATION

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1. M.: Prepare betel, please, 'you'.
W.: I have none, companion.

2. M.: Now, why is there none when I am the one asking you to prepare betel.
W.: How can we give what is not there.

3. M.: Now, why are you without.
W.: Even though there were some, companion, would you like it though.

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4. M.: Would you not, companion, like it, if you were those (who ask for it).
W.: We are grateful indeed if it is like that.

5. M.: Surely you do not like though to prepare betel for somebody.
W.: Yes indeed, if it is for you.[27]

6. M.: If so thus you do not like to distribute your betel (for chewing).
W.: Do we know if you like betel that crept over the ground.[28]

7. M.: You would not like it, woman, if it is you (who want betel).
W.: Yes, you say so only, 'you', like this.

8. M.: I will not resent it though, even though it be betel that crept over the ground.
W.: If you do not resent it, do not repent thus when I prepare betel for you.

9. M.: How can we do it then, companion.
W.: What is really the matter with your thinking, 'you', like this.

10. M.: It depends on my thought, 'you', which is in my head, is it not?
W.: If it depends on your thought, 'you', thus you do not think of somebody else.

11. M.: To whom could I finally belong if not to this one.
W.: I am a woman, 'you', without use.

12. M.: Why is your thought put upon the roof like this.
W.: Would to God my thought were put upon the roof.

13. M.: That is only what you do, is it not, 'you'.
W.: Would my fault not be big if I acted like this.

14. M.: Yes indeed, companion, but I am the one who is here.
W.: Ah, not so thus, but I say so though.

15. M.: Prepare betel for me though, really, 'you', won't you?
W.: How can we know, companion, if your thought like this will be permanent.

[27] I do not want to do it for you.

[28] Betel that crept up along a stalk, etc. is the only one considered good by the Isneg.

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16. M.: It will not continue if you (do not want), companion.
W.: Not indeed, but why is the one who is here the fortunate one with you.

17. M.: My thought with reference to you is true though.
W.: If it is like that, companion, why though do you make our thoughts uneasy.

18. M.: I like everything though, companion, even though perhaps my companions make a fool out of me on account of you.
W.: Perhaps you say so only, companion, because you are here.

19. M.: Ah, not so indeed, companion, but would we not be ashamed of what you say like that.
W.: Ah, it does not matter what you do with reference to acting like this.

20. M.: To whom would I finally belong if not to the one like this.[29]
W.: Anything you do is all right then, companion, as I truthfully tell you now that I love you, but do not repent then if we allow long days to pass beginning with this night.

Here we meet again with several words borrowed from other languages:

From the Spanish:

In (5), *simpre* from *siempre*, "always", with the meaning of "surely".

In (10), *sigún* from *según*, "according to", with the meaning of "it depends on".

In (11), *serbí* from *servir*, "to serve", with the meaning of "use".

Then Iloko and Isneg terms in juxtaposition:

In (10), Iloko *panúnut* and Isneg *damdám*, "thinking".

In (13), Iloko *arámid* and Isneg *uwá*, "acting".

TEXT III

This text consists in a continuous dialogue between a boy and the girl he has been courting for some time. My informant is the same Umila of the preceding text, who again calls it *mamabáy*, "to court a girl".

[29] If not to you.

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5391. *L.: paanná nad totó walá ikáw babáy no turánnā- alá ña mipagánat naté maddí masiñán ña turánnā- alá umáñ manálčn kiyá ummán kiddí ya daddalúnān áy bakkán nad da nasirrán abbulón ya panalčnān kiddí ya dálčn, iyá- ganć ikáw yâ maliyáw no turá ñalá bakkán mepalúbus ña manálčnā-iddí ya dálčn.*

B.: ammá- ad abbulón ta turán bakkán irbañán kid paám náyá náam-o ya ummán kiyán ña ba-ba-nánnu abbulón, gi-nánta ñalá ya pagtuñpólān náyá ummán ldí ya ba-ba-nán.

2. *L.: áwáñko am-ammó wa' pagtuñpálāntada ñammin ña napadapáda ña tólāy no di ammalí ittó widdíyin ña yagáñāy ammalañín ña panarnuwá nalá maddí masiñán ka ittó ya apa-paiyanántada ña tólāy, pandá ñalá añuwámo a babáy no bakkán ummán kiyán ya pagtuñpálāmmo ldí umáñko pinanálčn.*

B.: ô lugúd abbulón ñam áy bakkán kid paám arbañán na baggio ya ummán iddí se iddí áy magsúpul-áyo paám abbulón ka sabáli ya dalčnānnu ta bakkáñko padálčn ya ummán iddí ya dálčn, mabainánta pč abbulón ña turán nalá umáñ magpadálčn kadaáyó wa tólāy ña bakkán kammalañín arbañáy na baggíta ña annóñ dadúma.

3. *L.: áy no ummán kiyán ya agiyámmo pandá ñalá lugúd ta wáyyáta ad mapatab-áyān kiyá agiyán náyá isá ña tólāy, díta pč makabásol kiyá di masiñán no taggčta ñalá ña manálčn kiyá ummán kiddí ya dálčn.*

B.: ô abbulón ñam áy diáyo nad magbabári ñao maappôliāyo no turánta ñalá mepagásat na mcabulón kadaáyó bakkáñka lugúd maappóli ta padálčnko ya ummán iddí ya dálčn kadaáyó.

4. *L.: ô walá abbulón kadaáyó ñam áy bakkán kampčlañín ka iyáta no kas pagarígān iyá- pč ya babáy lu-sáwañko pč ya ðg-áyān náyá isá ña tólāy.*

B.: no ummán lugúd kiyán agiyámānta ikáw ta natuñpálta lugúd to ba-ba-nánta bakkáñka lugúd maappčli ta pagiddaántaa iggí ya gabí.

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1. M.: What is really, 'you', woman, the reason why I have the good luck from those that cannot be seen,[30] why I come to walk on a road like this, and, companion, the entrance to this road is not closed. I, 'you', is it not, would be ashamed if for some reason it were not allowed for me to walk on this road.

   W.: I do not know, companion, why what you propose like this is not yet proper to my mind, companion. We only want to sound the outcome of what you propose like this.

2. M.: I do not know anything about where we are going to, all of us men (all alike), if not though this here custom though created by those that cannot be seen with reference to what is done to us, men. Never mind what you do, woman, if where you are going to is not like what I come walking here for.[31]

   W.: Yes indeed, companion, but like this and this is perhaps not yet proper for my body; look still, companion, for another road for you to walk, as I did not make you walk on a road like this. We would be ashamed, companion, if for some reason we should come and make you people walk, when it is not proper though for our body as it is.[32]

3. M.: Ah, if you talk like that, never mind thus, as how can we be overpowered by what one man say. We do n[illegible] against the one that cannot be seen, if we almost walk on a road like this.

   W.: Yes, companion, but do not repent or be sorry if for some reason we have the good luck to be made your companion, do not thus be sorry if I let you walk on a road like this.

4. M.: Yes now, companion, that means you, but not me though, because if for instance I were the woman I should resent one man making a fool of me.

   W.: If it is like that thus, we are grateful, 'you', as we obtained thus what we proposed; do not thus be sorry if we lie down with you this evening.

[30] The spirits.

[31] Never mind if you do not reciprocate my love.

[32] I am not worthy of you.

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584 My informant emphatically stated that nothing untoward would yet happen at this juncture.

192 In this text we have one word borrowed from the Spanish:
In (1, *L.*), *sirrá*, from *cerrar*, to close".

Also one Iloko term in juxtaposition with its Isneg equivalent:
In (3, *B.*), Iloko *babáwi* and Isneg *appóli*, "repenting" (the *ó* in *appóli* and in the derivatives above, 3, *B.* and 4, *B.*, is like the *aw* in English "dawn", but longer).

Besides, one Iloko expression, a favorite with many Isneg:
In (4, *L.*), *kas pagarígan*, "for instance".

TEXT IV

584 115 539 This text consists in a dialogue between a boy and the girl he courts for the first time. In the latter part of the dialogue, the answers of the girl are lacking. My informant is Kimat from Baliwanan (M), who calls it *mamabáy*, "to court a girl".

1. *L.: mazápugka mas ikáw.*
   B.: wag[33] *kud mamáńko ikáw.*
2. *L.: busídmo yán ikáw.*
   B.: pazádigmo zané ta magbusbusígka.[34]
3. *L.: bakkán luzúd nam áy náńko ampčlańin.*
   B.: námmo no ikáw.
4. *L.: ač- bakkán ikáw.*
   B.: úrăy no námmo ikáw ăy pandá ńalá.
5. *L.: atán yán ikáw no dódúma se pč iyá.*
   B.: tán nam áy bakkán kammalańin kurkuríggin.
6. *L.: úrăy no bakkán kurúg áy piyáńko walá.*
   B.: poonáńă- pč ikáw.
7. *L.: úrăy man no aniyá ikáw ya malak-ámáńko áy pandá ńalá.*
   B.: maammóa ikáw dčtámo walá ibańát.
8. *L.: úrăymo walá sinnán á.*
   B.: díyă- miyamánan abbulón no mapooná.
9. *L.: isá ampčlańin ikáw ya aziyáńko manín.*

194 [33] *(a)wád*: *d* changed into *g*, before *k*.
[34] *busíd*: Cf. preceding note.

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10. *L.: mapaannd ma-dín abbulón no atán ma-dín ya mañipalbúya ka panúnutna.*

11. *L.: bakkán nôd totó walá mabalín no uwá.*

12. *L.: siñkaammówá- zané kiyá adáyyó ñam lawizán búlan nóray ipibbazáta ña dôdúma.*

13. *L.: yán nalá pandáta áy.*

14. *séno iyá- malak-ámko ya dákes áy nalak-ámko ya napiyá.*

15. *ta séno ummán kidí si idí nóray ipalawógko no bakkámmo walá piyán.*

16. *úray no ummán kidí ya pampanúnutta ña dôdúma no bakkán nánnu áy wáyyáñá- alá paannán.*

17. *ñáñawko la abbulón ya siñkaáxaw wa manálín ka páda- magdaldálín séno bakkán yán nán páda- magbiyág áy wáyyá alá paannán.*

18. *tittó pé ikáw ya mamalagmán ka bandó páda- parnuwá bakkáñko mauwá.*

19. *taré- pakiddumalán bakkán pamalikatán no uwá abbulón.*

20. *ñam áy mabalikáttá- ña dôdúma ta mepañgép kané abiyágta.*

TRANSLATION

1. M.: Prepare betel nut, please, 'you'.
   W.: Have I betel (to chew) then, 'you'.

2. M.: Your lie indeed, 'you'.
   W.: Your model, is it not, because you are lying.

3. M.: Not indeed, but I say it though.
   W.: You say it, if you are (the one).

4. M. Ha, no, 'you'.
   W.: Even though you say it, 'you', never mind.

5. M.: There is, indeed, 'you', sometimes, and I also.[25]
   W.: There is, but it is not true[26] now though.

6. M.: Even though it be not true I like it anyhow.
   W.: That is also like me, 'you'.

[25] There is betel indeed; both of us are liable to tell a lie occasionally.
[26] Good betel.

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539 7. M.: Whatever, 'you', I obtain, it is all the same.
W.: It is your business, 'you', should you throw it away.

584 8. M.: Even though you look at it now, see.[37]
W.: Would I not feel gratified, companion, if it is so.

9. M.: One thing though, 'you', I will say again.

10. M.: How now, companion, if there is one now who manifests his thoughts.

11. M.: It cannot be, really, after all.[38]

12. M.: I know, is it not, that it is farther than the stars,[39] even though we others will say it.

13. M.: That is our end now.[40]

14. M.: As for me, I obtain what is bad or I obtain what is good.

15. M.: So that it is like this and this,[41] even though I explain it if you do not like it.

16. M.: Even though our thought is like this, if you say: "No", what can I do about it.

17. M.: It is my greed, companion, to steal this walk from others who are walking like me, so that if one who lives like me says: "No now", what can be done about it.

18. M.: But, 'you', to transgress the order[42] of my fellow creatures, I cannot do it.

19. M.: Failing to act without permission will result in not being offended by words[43] after all, companion.

20. M.: But I am offended by words on account of our life.[44]

In this text we meet with one Spanish term: *bando*, "ordinance".

[37] I shall not throw it away.

[38] I am not worthy of you.

[821] [39] *lowizān búlan*, literally: rope of the moon, thus: what follows the moon. The Isneg imagine the stars following the moon.

[40] We cannot add anything to it.

[41] Never mind.

[42] To act without permission.

[43] *balikát* usually means: pronouncing. Here it means: pronouncing bad words in order to offend somebody.

[44] Because we are of a lower status.

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TEXT V

This text contains a few scattered sayings, mostly of a boy who is courting a girl, occasionally of the girl answering him. Even when they are not marked "singing", these sayings are pronounced in a more or less singing tone, with rhythm and occasionally rhyme clearly apparent. My informant is Lampa from Dangla (M), who calls it *mamabây*, "to court a girl".

[584] 539 [115]

1. *L.: iápuyna- ikit, bowadnmo ka búsit, ta apúzammo ka bitti-, anzidaŋko mamidit.*
2. *(ag-azi): dinu ag-aziyán*
   kaw ô to zâyyám maâwán.
3. *as paannán ud zanê ikâw no maziŋgápta ka bátug iŋgáp no abbulón.*
4. *as kannámo ittó piyán ya maziddá kiddí ây nalawây ma- ya baldy.*
5. *kannánta ittó piyán ya mazis-isissá ây atánkayo ma- pê ta.*
6. *tittó pê ya mañirobóróbo ka pádana magdalidálên akkáŋko uwaán.*
7. *atán kid abbulón no zabâli ya makiápug ŋam ây se iyá- to ya âwán nánnu.*
8. *B.: akkán luzúd abbulón ŋam ây âwán kammalañín.*
9. *tittó pê ya magdudúma ka páda- magbibiyág akkáŋko uwaán.*
10. *paydudumánnu ikâw ya tólây ta.*
11. *L.: akkán luzúd abbulón ŋam ây báraŋ ŋalá náŋko.*
12. *B.: atán mamá ikâw ŋam ây mamá kammalañín ŋa ur-úrây.*
13. *zawág[45] kammalañín na ur-úrây.*
14. *L.: atán kud kammalá ŋa lu-sáwaŋko wa tólây.*
15. *séŋo ya zawád da ur-úrây ya nánnu wag kud da di magkal-kalâse kammalañín kiyá zawád atán ya namít ta zawád ây atán ya nazablê-.*
16. *se kadím pê kada-tá tólây atán da babây se laláki.*
17. *ummáŋ kanó ma- pê kada-tá iyá- ây no banáŋa- ka abág ây ikâw ây no banáŋka ak-akên.*
18. *(ag-azi): díta bumanbanannây*
    ma- ô lu-sáw di babây.
19. *nannawánâ- babây*
    ta nallâa- pê sây.

[45] zawád: Cf. note 33.

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TRANSLATION

539 1. M.: Prepare betel for me, aunt, put soft betel nut in it, add a little lime, I shall pick it up with my left hand.

584 2. (singing): Do not tell
'you', to a friend that there is none.

3. Ha, could it not be, is it not, 'you', that we sleep in front of one another, sleeping when there is a companion.

4. Ha, how do you like this to lie down here while the house is still clear.

5. How could we like to be all alone, when you are here also.

6. That, which would be joking with one who walks along like me, I do not do.

7. There would be some perhaps, companion, if another one asked you to prepare betel for him, but to me: "There is none", you say.

8. W.: Not so indeed, companion, but there is none though.

9. That, which would be making a selection among living people like me, I do not do.

10. You make a selection, 'you', among men.[46]

11. M.: No indeed, companion, but I say only: "If perhaps".

12. W.: There is betel (for chewing), 'you', but betel (for chewing) though that is useless.

13. Betel though that is useless.

14. M.: Could there be though which I do not like, I a human being.

15. As to the useless betel as you call it, are there any things that are not of different grade though; as to betel, there is tasty betel and there is tasteless.

16. And also with us men, there are women and men.

17. It is, they say, also like with us: I, if I sneeze, it is in a G-string, but you, if you sneeze, it is in a tapis.

18. (singing): Let us not approach
The resentment of a woman.

19. You are overbearing to me, woman,
I am really to be pitied.

192 One Spanish word occurs in this text, namely: *clase*, "class", pronounced *kaláse* in Nr. 15.

[46] Why do you want me and not some other girl.

539 Before I proceed, allow me to explain how In-
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dian corn, taro and
sweet potatoes, came to be known to the Isneg; this was related to me by *Magáyam* from Bayag (O dialect).

Adődit nāyá maís siwāy se ya kamóti

Story of the corn, taro and the sweet potato

Itó nabāyág ga dagúnnin uwād da nasamúá ńa bisín iyá Apáyaw./ Adató tólāy immánda ńámin to adón naté áyo wa namít a pagramanánda./ Kané no isá ńa aldáw napanda iyá unág nāyá xinúbāt./ To ya naxasárakda ya adánan kiyá xinúbāt./ Itó unág naté adánan uwádda ńa talló baláxi ya múla./ Adató tólāy sinónānda to mixinadánan./ Kané no lumbét to mixin-adánan nagbaláwda ta lamán./ Nagbaláwda ta magúni to lamán./ Kasit-án nató lamán daté tólāy no iníká- to gagára daté tólāy./ Xam sumuúbāt daté tólāy ya umáńda ńa magsápul anánda mepagapó to bisín./ Ummáń to lamán nagbálāité siwāy maís se to kamóti./ Séna la mesúro to maúlúto se to magmúla kadaté tólāy./ Kané no malúto to siwāy maít se to kamóti nańánda./ Kané mabalínda mańán iddán naté lamán daté tólāy ya maís kamóti se to siwāy ya imúlada./ To ya nasarákān dāyá tólāy ya ńáyan dāyá maís kamóti se ya siwāy.

Many years ago there was a severe famine in Apayaw./ The people consumed all the leaves of the trees whose taste was good./ Then one day they went inside the forest./ There they found a garden in the forest. Inside the garden there were three kinds of plants./ The men got the owner of the garden./ Then, when the owner of the garden came, they were surprised, as it was a wild boar./ They were surprised as the wild boar talked./ The wild boar asked the men what was the desire of the men./ But the men answered that they came to look for their food on account of the famine./ The wild boar went to gather taro, corn and sweet potatoes./ Then he taught the men to cook and to plant./ Then, when the taro, corn and the sweet potatoes were cooked, they ate./ When they finished eating, the wild boar gave the men corn, sweet potatoes and taro for them to plant./ That is how the men found the name of the corn, sweet potato and the taro.

1. INDIAN CORN

243 The field, whether included in the general appellation *kadánan* (garden) or not, where Indian corn or *maít* (from the Spanish *maís*) is grown, is called *maítán* or *makitán*.

The bulk of Indian corn is planted (*mańmaít*) in the months of January and February, mostly immediately after the tobacco.

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251 Young banana leaves (*adón*) are used very extensively for wrapping
245 purposes, especially when things have to be kept fresh, for instance cooked rice, several kinds of viands, etc.

The men cut down (*lappadán, maglappád*) the leaves with the *alíwá* (hatchet) and gather (*manaxidón*) them.

Dry banana leaves (*arupát*) are used for wrapping all kinds of small objects.

245 A banana plantation where the leaves are all withered, is supposed
776 to be the abode of the spirit *Alčxān*. For the rest, no harm is done, as she never attempts to destroy the fruits.

6. YAMS

244 The origin of yams or *úbi* (Dioscorea alata, L., D. pentaphylla, L.,
773 etc.) is authenticated among the Isneg by the following stories:

539 *Ucil* from Bolo (O dialect, Main branch) told me this:
824

Ya nonōnná ńa úbi

The first yam

Kitó inumbét daté dódon kiddí ité nōnná ńa alxáw āwánda kanó ńa anán daté tólāy ta amminán daté dódon./ Kané āwánda ńa anán kitó mammínda ńa natáy iníru-da ya anánā-da séda ńa anín ăy imúlada to tábbit nató ababbíń./ Ay to ya nagbalín ka úbi to ya nonōnná ńa úbi.

When the locusts came here in former days, the people, it is said, had nothing to eat, as the locusts consumed everything./ And when they had nothing to eat, so they would all be dead, they took out a part of their children's bodies, and they ate it, and they planted the flesh of the child./ And that became a yam: that is the first yam.

Another man related to me a similar story with reference to the *paddig*-yam: it is very large, and its skin is very red; it looks as if it were bleeding. On a certain day, a mother took her babe as soon as it was born and cut it into pieces, which she buried in the ground. After a while they grew, and when the woman dug them up, they had become *paddig*-yams. She cooked them, ate them, and found them to be a savory kind of food.

A different story is woven around the *dinampāyán*, a kind of *lo-tó* (Dioscorea fasciculata, Roxb. and D. aculeata, L.). The *lo-tó* are small yams, whose meat is yellowish or white, and very soft; their skin is thin and whitish or brown, and is easily peeled off when cooked; their vines and leaves are thorny. Formerly all *lo-tó* were soft

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stones. A little child having stepped on one of them, the latter took the shape of a small foot: that is the reason why the *dinampăyán* are more or less footlike and have small projections like toes.

In Isneg, *úbi* is the general name for all yams, and *lo-tó* is the general name for several kinds of soft yams whose skin is white or whitish. In Iloko, *úbi* refers only to one kind of yams (Dioscorea alata, L.), and *tugí* is the Iloko equivalent of the Isneg *lo-tó*. In Kankanay, *tugí* is the sweet potato.

Besides the *paddíg* (*úbi*) and the *dinampăyán* (*lo-tó*), the Isneg cultivate the following varieties (belonging to different species of Dioscorea) of *úbi*:

The *aniñgát*: A kind of yam with purplish skin.

The *baraóñ*: A kind of yam almost perfectly globose.

The *bisóyoñ*: A kind of yam with purplish skin, very long and crooked.

The *kamáñag*: A kind of yam very similar to the Dioscorea batatas, Dcne., but with a different vine.

The *dampanán*: A kind of *lo-tó* with a very pubescent skin, the most esteemed of all.

The *pixáy*: A kind of *lo-tó* with a very thin skin.

The *mariwag*: A kind of wild yam, with comparatively small vines, growing along brooks. The Isneg improve it by cultivation. Perhaps Dioscorea batatas, Dcne.

Whereas most other tribes cultivate yams rather sparingly, the Isneg plant them much more extensively than anything else, rice excepted. In this they resemble the Batan, whose staple food is the yam: rice, however, is not grown by them.

It takes yams one year to develop their tubers; they may be planted at any time.

Before planting *lo-tó*, the Isneg wash the parts that will be confided to the soil, with *babbalowán*-vines cut into pieces and soaked in the juice of the sugar cane. This is done to ensure their sweetness. The *babbalowán* is a herbaceous vine with yellow flowers and with leaves that resemble those of the *úbi*; it grows in gardens planted with *lo-tó*.

When they want to plant yams (*magbaló*; sometimes; *magtuwág*, which is said of both planting taro and planting yams), the first thing they do is to cut a certain quantity of tubers into pieces (*maxáru-* or *mañúru-*). Then holes are bored in the ground by means of a *paló-* (hoe) or a dibble (the *saguwá* or the *itutunú*; the latter being called *ibabaló* when used for planting yams). Some ashes are strewn in each

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(*magkaskás*) from the *agdĕrăyăn*-pole and then piled up (*magsaldít*) somewhere on the floor of the house, next to the wall, where they are left to cure. To keep the bulk (*saldít*) of tobacco leaves in place, a stick is fixed somewhere in the floor, and the bulk of tobacco finds its place between this stick on one side and the wall of the house on the other.

While the tobacco is curing, the men prepare (*mańolapí*) boxes (*kolapí*) for the final storage. These *kolapí*, which are as high as they are long and very narrow, are made from the bark of one or more of the following trees:

The *adaán*, a forest tree with large leaves.
The *ánut*, a forest tree whose timber is not much esteemed.
The *labdó*, mentioned before, when treating sugar cane.

Before storing (*ipintá-*) the hands of tobacco in the *kolapí*, the Isneg spread some *bánăy*-leaves on the bottom, to serve as a pad (*annáp*) and to cause the leaves to become red. The *bánăy* is a very tall zingiberaceous plant with white flowers and grows in thickets of bamboo grass and in waste places.

To cause the tobacco to appear very valuable to prospective buyers, some *taróyog* are mixed with the leaves stored in the *kolapí* (box). The *taróyog* is a low herb that grows in forested areas.

V. The Isneg Orchard

The Isneg have no idea of a real orchard as we understand it. Nevertheless there is no village, almost no house, where they have not at least a few coco palms growing on the grounds, which surround the house yard or the group of houses that constitute a village. To people who walk along a mountain path or paddle down a river on a canoe or a raft, these coco palms are very often visible from a great distance and are the surest sign of the actual or former existence of one or more habitations in their immediate neighborhood.

All fruit trees planted by the Isneg are to be found on the grounds just mentioned, but there is none more precious and more important to the inhabitants of Apayaw than the universally cultivated coco palm or *iyúg*.

As to the question of its introduction into Apayaw, let us listen to what *Lampá* from Dangla (O dialect, Main branch) has to tell us about it:

Naggăyatán năyă iyúg
Origin of the coconut

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To nŏnná ńa alxáw ăy nagdallis nalnáp ńamin to alawaxán ńam 245
ăwán piám maiyúg kid apăyaw,/ ńam ăy ránna la uwăd da iyúg ga 824
nillŏd./ Nasińán daté tóläy ĕluxānda ńa totó ńam bakkónda namálă-./ 531
Nasińán din to kusá sinaluxánna séna iddán kadaté tóläy séda imúla./
Tówin ya naggăyatán ńámin ńa iyúg./ Ńam xapó ta ipaanăńi dăyá
kusá to nańală-da kité nagdallísna kité nŏnná ńa alxáw séno atán ya
mańallŏd ônó mańíxăd mińirańiráw dăyá kusá maxáwăgda ka iyúg.

In former days the whole world was covered with a flood, but no coconuts were yet produced in Apayaw,/ but it happened that there was a coconut that floated down./ The men saw it, they really desired it, but they did not get it./ A cat saw it then, it got it swimming, then gives it to the men, then they plant it./ That is the origin of all the coconuts./ But, because the cats managed to take it out of the flood in former days, when somebody causes [coconuts] to float down or scrapes out coconut meat, the cats mew, they call the coconuts.

When somebody intends to plant coconuts, the first thing he has to 245
do is to climb one or more of the trees and to detach (*mamúxăt, buxătan*) a certain amount of ripe nuts (*iyúg*), which are dropped on the ground and afterwards picked up; cracked ones of course are useless for this purpose. A man who has been roasting meat should [784]
abstain from gathering nuts (*manuxúnug*) for some time, lest the trees that grow from these nuts produce nothing else but fruits that wither before they are grown to maturity.

The nuts (*patúbo*) are tied without more ado to a pole that has been stuck somewhere in or near the house yard, in order to cause them to sprout (*mańarăy* or *magpaarăy*). There are very few houses in Apayaw in whose immediate neighborhood there is not to be found such a pole with its heap of dry coconuts. Here they are left until the shoots have attained a certain development and they are ready to be planted.

The meat of sprouting nuts (*arăy*) that are in their first stage [262]
namely before the shell has been pierced, consists of a white spongy mass (*tobál*) that fills the whole nut and is considered as a great dainty.

To plant coconuts (*magtubáń*) the Isneg men dig holes in the ground, at a distance of at least fifteen feet (*dapán*) from one another. Then the man who does the actual planting proceeds in the following way:

First he loosens his G-string, because

nexát ya abág séno nasulít a bunután

46: Wilson
538, 539, 773, 173

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[For the texts of various Apayao myths and folktales, see category 116, pp. 44-170. --Analyst]

765 The bereaved husband or wife
515 must continue in mourning during several months even up to a year, according to the time set by the relatives of the deceased. He must wear white cothes and cannot take a bath nor eat rice during that time.

When the time of mourning is over, a smaller *callas* is held. Only then can the bereaved husband or wife remove his white clothes, take a bath, and don his usual garments. His mourning has changed into happiness again.

000 Thus life has been going on and on through the centuries in the lovely land of Apayao.

PUZZLES

524 I. An enchanted tree grows on the bank of the river.
539 During the day time, it stands straight toward the sky; but when the night comes, it lies flat and blocks the river, rendering it impassable to any boatman. However, a certain boatman did pass. How did he manage it?

SOLUTION: He made a great fire of leaves there so that the enchanted tree thought that day had come and it stood up. The boatman then poled with all his might and was able to pass safely.

II. There were three carabaos on one side of the river, but no grass; so they wanted to cross to the other side. However, there was a crocodile who promised to eat the one female carabao. What did the two male carabaos do to save the female carabao from the hungry crocodile?

SOLUTION: The male carabao went first; the female seized its tail in her mouth. The crocodile waited, of

course, for the last carabao, saw it was a male: so it left off. 524 539

III. There is a small girl; but when she goes out of a house, it cannot hold her.

SOLUTION: The small girl is smoke.

IV. It can carry lumber but cannot carry a needle.

SOLUTION: It is water.

V. When they are in, they are brothers; but when they are taken out, they fight each other.

SOLUTION: They are flint and steel.

NURSERY SONG 539

(In the Nabuañgan River Dialect)

I. *We-ya-we, we-ya-we, we-ya-we, we-ya-we*
Matadug can waguicon ta lombet dan amangen,
Mangil bet linoto wen ta canan ta daddanen.
We-ya-we, we-ya-we, we-ya-we, we-ya-we
Please sleep now my brother,
Father will come by and by bringing for us to eat.

II. *Wac-wac-wac-wac-wac-wac*
Matodug can catingen;
Ta awad gayang Malilak
Nga tomabtab can co ota-c.
Wac-wac-wac-wac-wac-wac
Please sleep now my little baby;
Because there is a crow from (Mount) Malilak
That will eat your brain if you do not stop crying.

FOLK SAYINGS

539 I. *Desdesadis adda molac camatis.*
Diac pagargaratis, no di telay napso-is."
I have a beautiful daughter.
I will not allow anybody to marry her
If not a refined man.

II. *"Cabayo ñga laguiben no innac purosen boa ñga gasisipan."*
She is beautiful; but the worst in character.

III. *"No awan liñgat, awan napdad."*
Where there is no sweat there is no sweet.

IV. *"Mangasawa ka se pomya ka."*
You marry so as to live more happily.

V. *"Magobja ca se matolay ka."*
You must work in order to live.

VI. *"Igayat mon se lombat ya kayat men."*
Begin it right away and you will have your wish.

VII. *"No magpili ca meg-toc en."*
If you select, you lose.

VIII. *"Unay adi matolay nwaoan babay."*
It is better to die if there is no woman.

IX. *"Napia das isissa no ya dakek ñga kaddoa."*
It is better to go alone than to have a bad companion.

.46: Wilson F-3 (no date) 1947 OA1 Philippines
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539

A FEAST SONG

(Tune-salecdomoy)

(In the Nabuañgan River Dialect)

Niwayway bisic weay-sidong ya magbabalay;
Kinalway da co gassay.
Niwayway bisic bical-sidong da magbabakal;
Kinalway da co singal.
Niwayway bisic iyog—
Kinalway da co ga-od.
Niwayway bisic boa-sidong da maggo-obja:
Kinalway da co aliwa;

The rattan fruit is hanging—above the house builders:
Cut it with an axe.
The bicol fruit is hanging—above the brave warriors fighting:
Cut it with a spear.
The nut fruit is hanging—above the peace makers:
Cut it with a head axe.
The betel fruit is hanging—above the workers:
Cut it with an *aliwa.*

SOME ANTIPHONAL SONGS AT A FEAST

(In the Nabuañgan River Dialect)

I. *SALINDUMAY*

First Group: *Salindumay duma-ay*
Acganta da yadowas
Salindomay Domiwas
2nd Group: *Ayad dac din simicad*
Salin dewas Domiwas.

539 First Group: Oh! welcome, welcome visitors,
Let us enjoy the feast together.
Oh! oh! welcome to all.

2nd Group: Yes, I am here standing
Welcome to you all, too.

II. *O! OGAYAM*

First Group: *O! intayo aglalagzac*
O! o! ogayam, magayaman

2nd Group: *O! adda ac ngarud nga sumicad*
O! o! ogayam magayaman.

First Group: Oh! come let us be happy
Oh! oh! in as much as we are together

2nd Group: Oh! I am here now ready standing
Oh! oh! in as much as we are together.

III. *DOMALIWAS*

First Group: *Ta da Domaliwas*
Insa ay yen om hem

2nd Group: *Avad dae dia no sumicad*
No dinac cayat makiagsac
Ki kao ñga kalabsat
In sa ya ca om-he.

First Group: Now let us have a feast;
That's why we are here.

2nd Group: Yes, I am here standing.
If I didn't like happiness,
I wouldn't be here with you.
That's why we are here.

IV. *INNAS*

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First Group: *Ki kayo ñga calagaab*
Intada ñga magdowas
Innas sa ianno onnas inballoballog
ogennas.

2nd Group: *Ay yo diamno dowas*
Aed ac lagud aumicad
Ta piniac makilaglagaak
Ki kao nga kalabeat.

First Group: Oh! beloved brethren,
Let us love one another.
Allright: forget the past and
Let us all love together.

2nd Group: Here I am with you, love;
Yes, I am here with you;
I want to be happy
With you my beloved brethren.

COSMOLOGY

Apayaos say that the earth is flat with edges, off 772
which the water flows and is caught by the moon 821
which returns it to the earth as rain. You can tell 823
when this will be done by observing the new moon. 221
If its tips (forming a container) are horizontal it 241
will not rain. If one tip is down, the water will run 805
out and it will rain. Camotes are planted during the
first and the last quarters of the moon. The positions
of ursa major and ursa minor determine the time of
planting most of the food crops. This is done by co- [476]
operative planting, *abugo*.